1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

845 mother said the girl had cried she was too weak to strain any more and could not bear the child. Her mother and sisters were sobbing violently, and all the women had tears in their eyes. Later all cheered up, ate *ava*, and then the patient fell asleep.

At about 6 p.m. the patient, in severe labor, crying out with real anguish, was sitting on the knees of an old man, attended in front by her mother and sister. The two women were pushing on her body so strenuously that when the child suddenly appeared they did not realize it. A girl among the observers cried out, "Na to!" (It's fallen!). Then everyone, men, women, and children, began screaming with a deafening uproar. Each person shouted just what should be done, but no one moved and the child lay on the ground where it had fallen. The sister jumped up and began to run to and from the house, until she realized that fresh water was the first thing needed. She ran off to a well close by on the beach (nothing had been prepared for in advance) and came back with water which the parturient's mother put in her mouth and spat out several times over the baby's head as it lay on the ground, to ensure that it would open its eyes. The sister rushed to the house and came back with a spool of thread, which was what the crowd was now screaming for. She handed the spool to a third woman near by, one of those who had been shouting loudest, but this woman refused to take it, saying she did not know what to do with it anyway. Then the sister ran back for a pair of scissors, and finally the patient's mother cut the cord and tied it with the thread. Then she picked up the baby and started off to the beach, but she was recalled by the shouts of onlookers, who told her to care for her daughter. She gave the infant to her other daughter, who sat with it on the veranda of the house. Everyone wished to know whether it was male or female, but the girl was fearful of uncovering the child, now wrapped in rags. Finally she turned the rags back, mistook the cord for a penis, and said it was a male child. Noticing the mistake, she looked a second time, and announced definitely the child was female.

Meanwhile the old men massaged the new mother, and the placenta came away. The baby's grandmother helped the mother to her feet and supported her to the beach. When the grandmother stooped to pick up a comb she had dropped, the mother tottered and would have collapsed had someone else not run to her support. When she got to the beach she was washed as far up her body as her navel, was given a change of dress, and made to sit down on the beach upon a pad of coconut fiber. She commenced to hold in her breasts tightly, but was allowed to lie down on a mat and rest for a short while. She was given a drink of warm coconut liquid while the men dug a hole on the beach and buried the placenta and cord. The infant had opened its eyes and moved its hand to its mouth. It was wiped with soiled rags and then covered with a piece of rag that its mother had been using all day as a handkerchief. The sister opened a mature coconut, scraped some flesh into a cloth, which was squeezed into the mouth of the child by the grandmother. Meanwhile the mother was taken inside the house. The grandmother continued to hold the baby in her arms all night, feeding it occasionally with coconut cream. Next day, the mother was sitting up, tightly clasping her breasts, while the grandmother was starting to make a mat for the baby. The child lay face downward on a pillow close beside its mother.

Feasts and Naming

851 The birth of a child introduces a new member to the various social groups
[353] of the community. This introduction is marked by the holding of two feasts
574 and by the naming of the child:
612 Immediately upon the birth of the child, the bilateral kin groups of the child's parents prepare food, first for the *pukki* feast. This is a small division of taro and fish, occasionally also of pig, arranged by the father for all those relatives and friends present at the birth of his child. It constitutes payment for the services of those attending the

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851 mother during confinement; others are included for showing interest in the family's
574 affairs by being present at the time of delivery. If the child is the first-born (*ufuki*),
612 the *fenuli* feast is followed several days later by the *waele* food division. If the *ufuki* is a male child, the division is on a bigger scale than for a first-born female. The division is held five to ten days after delivery, usually coinciding with the time that the mother is allowed to open her arms after her five nights of breast confinement. In an undistinguished family, the food division is among the bilateral kinship groups of the parents and may be referred to as a mere *tamamatyanga* (eating). For a more distinguished family, one that ranks through status or wealth, the *waele* may include a food division for every family on the island. In such families, *waele* feasts may be held to mark the arrival of subsequent children, especially the birth of a male child if the previous children in the family are female.

553 The father generally chooses the child's name (*ingoa*) which he announces at the birth feast. But the mother or other interested parties may also give the child a name (*tapa te ingoa*) or names. The child may thus be known by several names in different groups.

The choice of a name may be determined by a desire to refer to or honor the special skill or profession (*uatea*) of the father. If the father is a skilled canoe builder, then he will name the child with reference to canoe building or parts of a canoe. The name of an ancestor, or else a reference to some incident or event associated with this ancestor may be chosen. A name may also be taken from a younger brother or sister of the father who is childless or may refer to some contemporary event or person affecting the island, a tidal wave, for example, or the presence on the island of white visitors.

[75] If the first child dies, the second child may be given the name of the dead child. If the first-born dies after the birth of the second child, the name of the second child may be changed to that of its deceased sibling. No idea is held of the reincarnation of the soul of the dead child in the birth of the second child. The feeling seems to be that if one thinks so highly of a name as to give it to a child then if the child dies the same reason for giving the name holds for the second child. If a man wishing to hand down to posterity his skill as a carpenter, names his child accordingly, then if this child dies, the same desire operates when he comes to name his next child, so he gives it the name of the deceased. A child may similarly be renamed for any close relative, not a sibling, who dies during its childhood. A feast was formerly held to mark the assumption of the new name, and gifts were given the recipient of the new name.

551 The name or names given a child at birth remain his names throughout life. Later on, however, when a boy joins a young men's house (*waele lafo*) or a girl a girl's house (*waele tamamarine*), he or she is given a new name by his or her companions in the house. This name partakes of the nature of a nickname, or at least is the name used only by one small group within the community, whereas the birth name is the name whereby the individual is known to the community at large. This was well brought out when collecting genealogies.

There is no sex distinction in names, and no class of words set aside for exclusive use as personal names. According to the choice of the parents, any word or words, taken from any sphere of discourse or any context whatsoever, may be applied to a child as his name. I have not considered it necessary to present lists of personal names. As is evident from a comparison with genealogies, old Pukapukan names survive today with a tenacious persistence. Western and Biblical names rendered in Pukapukan, however, have a certain popularity. Such names as Miti Moo (derived from Mr. More, a missionary), Miti Mali (derived from Mr. Murray, a trader), Moni Kula (brown money, gold), Agnesa (from the English "half pound") are examples of modern names and show both an originality in naming for which the Polynesian may well be proud and an appreciation, however unfortunate, for the symbols of an allegedly superior culture.

597 nexus. The parental motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line; economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares and property that an adopted child brings into the household, or for someone to care for them in their old age. The range of possible relationships between adopting parent and child is almost infinite. Study of census material, however, shows that adoptions by maternal and paternal relatives are almost equal; the father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father are likely to adopt more frequently than any other relatives.

577 [93] 653 85 The process of complete adoption generally begins with the bespeaking of a child before its birth. The adopting couple feed the mother from the third month of pregnancy onwards. They present her family with special food gifts each time there is a food division. They name the child and provide the birth feast, taking formal possession of the child at weaning. This method of pre-natal adoption is looked upon as the best method of ensuring complete social and emotional control of the child. A divided loyalty in the child is looked upon as fatal to the complete success of the economic and psychological security desired by the parents. On the other hand it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the parents a chance to evaluate the capabilities of the adopted child. Hence some parents favor a partial or feeding adoption at the beginning: the adopting parents take the child at weaning time into their household; if at a later date they wish completely to adopt the child, they do so by mutual arrangement with the blood parents, accompanied by a renaming of the child.

597 828 577 All our Pukapukan informants around the conflict situations involved in this extensive practice of adoption. The adopted child is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything except the accident of conception and gestation, though the fiction is that the adopting parents become sociological parents before birth through their pre-natal feeding of the mother. The adoption is held to break all kinship ties based on blood and new kinship obligations are established according to the relationships of the adopting parents. As the child grows up, however, he soon learns to know his blood parents. He may be permitted to visit them, to work with them, to care for them in sickness, but it is to his adopting parents that the child owes primary social and affectual obligations and on whom he is supposed to lavish all his interest and support. Because of the complete sociological break that adoption is supposed to constitute, the conflict situation which blood parents, either through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, may stimulate by encouraging their child to visit them, by getting him, lavishing affection over him, saving choice food for him, is regarded with dismay and hostility. Blood parents who in any way try to revive blood ties are regarded as black traitors. If a child shows more than a formal interest in his blood parents, the latter are expected to show in every possible way, even by resorting to violent whippings, that the child is unwanted. Similarly, adopting parents are justified in severely disciplining an adopted child who persists in sneaking off to a blood parent's household. The following examples will illustrate these points:

577 159 182 Lino (p. 71), the adopted child of Mere and Lehua, comes back to Mere's house from working in the bush with Lehua, eats some food, throws off his loincloth and then starts to walk down the